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World Chronicle

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GUEST: **NELSON MANDELA**
President
African National Congress of South Africa

JOURNALISTS: Evelyn Leopold, Reuters
Bhaskar Menon, *The Times* of India

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SOUTH AFRICA

Nelson Mandela, President of the African National Congress of South Africa, discusses recent political developments in his country, South Africa, and points out that the countdown to democracy in South Africa has begun: the apartheid regime has been forced to concede that the system of white minority rule can no longer be sustained. With the transition to democracy enshrined in the law, Mr. Mandela calls on governments and peoples of the world to end their economic sanctions against South Africa. In his negotiations with the "white right wing", he was encouraged to find that they are also interested in a peaceful solution to South Africa's political problems.

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ANNOUNCER: From United Nations Headquarters in New York, this is **World Chronicle**, an unedited interview programme about major global issues. Here now to introduce our guest is the host of today's **World Chronicle**.

LITTLEJOHNS: I'm Michael Littlejohns, and this is **World Chronicle**.

For many decades the black majority of the South African population suffered under the system of apartheid, which institutionalized racism and segregation and denied black people the right to vote. However, recent developments in South Africa appear to to have set the country on the road for a new era of equality and democracy for all.

Our guest today needs no introduction. He is Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress. Joining me to interview Mr. Mandela are Evelyn Leopold of Reuters and Bhaskar Menon of *The Times* of India. Mr. Mandela, welcome to World Chronicle.

MANDELA: Thank you.

LITTLEJOHNS: Mr. President, it's often said that sanctions don't work. But in the South African experience, perhaps that argument has been disproved. Do you think you would not be where you are today if it had not been for sanctions?

MANDELA: South Africa is very unique in the sense that it does not matter what government is in power in the country: it may be liberal, it may be conservative, they all supported the anti-apartheid struggle in our country. And one of the most powerful weapons that has been used, which has been very effective, is that of sanctions. Through sanctions they have isolated South Africa, and, linking it up with the struggles of our people inside the country, the sanctions have worked very well. And it's a matter of common knowledge that without sanctions we would not have made the progress and the victories that have been achieved.

LITTLEJOHNS: But they have also had a devastating effect on the economy, sir. How are you going to recover? Now you've called for the lifting of sanctions, economic sanctions at any rate, not the mandatory arms embargo for the time being; but how quickly do you think the economy can recover?

MANDELA: Undoubtedly, sanctions have been devastating. In fact, so devastating that we had to modify our policy. The aim of sanctions was to overthrow white minority rule. And we clearly stated that they would not be lifted until a

democratic government has been installed. But many years of apartheid have destroyed our economy, and sanctions have had a contribution in that destruction, but a very small one. Our economy today is in shambles as a result of apartheid. We hope that by lifting sanctions the democratic forces throughout the world will now regard it as their duty to help our economy to become strong, to grow, to offer job opportunities, to generate wealth. And we believe, from discussions which we have been having with governments, corporations throughout the world, that we enjoy the good will of the world, and that they will be able to invest in our country provided we create a favourable environment for investors, both local and foreign, to invest in our country; that there should be no danger of their investments being expropriated; that they will be free to repatriate their profits, their dividends and even their capital.

MENON: Sir, you expect economic growth as if nothing would happen on the ground, but as you know from the example of neighbouring Angola, you can have a transitional period where everyone thinks everything is going well, and then have the whole thing collapse in bloodshed. How real a prospect is that for South Africa?

MANDELA: What has happened in Angola is not a formula that will be followed in all countries. Look at Mozambique already. They went through the same process, the same experience. But they are now negotiating. And the head of RENAMO is now in Maputo negotiating with President Chissano. Our situation is quite different from that of Angola because the people who believe in violence, as I pointed out in my address, are in the minority. And it's a fallacy that violence has engulfed the whole country. No. This violence is limited to certain areas. But the peace forces themselves are too strong for them to be derailed in the process by those who are fueling this violence.

MENON: How about the Zulus? How about the Inkatha?

MANDELA: I wouldn't like to discuss the matter from the point of view of any ethnic community. One of the fallacies is that this violence is between certain ethnic groups. It is not true. There is an element of the violence caused by a clash between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party, but it's not a clash between the Zulus and the Xhosas, because many Zulus have been killed by those who are identified as members of Inkatha Freedom Party, and many Xhosas have been also killed in this violence, not necessarily by the Zulus. And this is a fallacy. This violence is fuelled by those people who are against the peace process, the democratization of this country. And it is in that regard that we say the peace forces, the majority of the people of South Africa, are

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committed to peace, unlike the situation in Angola. And the discussions that we're having with all political parties and the response that we are getting shows how important the quest for peace, how widespread, how deep the quest for peace is.

This morning we have received a communique which was issued by the right wing generals who have disclosed that there have been discussions between the ANC and the right wing, and that these discussions have been very cordial and a lot of progress has been made.

LEOPOLD: Can I pick up on those discussions? How do you visualize your relationship in the talks you have been having for quite a while with the Afrikaner Volksfront? Are you thinking of any kind of creation of states along ethnic lines, of any homeland for them? Or do you still see a large unitary state?

MANDELA: Well, it's not easy to discuss very sensitive issues which are the subject of negotiations with the mass media. It is sufficient to say that from the statement the generals issued, which we got this morning, progress is being made in addressing their demands, in allaying their concerns. And I must say that we have found them very cooperative, very sensitive to the welfare of all population groups in this country. And it is the duty of the African National Congress, which started this process, to address the concerns of all our people, especially the minorities.

LEOPOLD: But are you visualizing a unitary state or would you accept a federal system to accommodate the various dissidents such as the Inkatha movement or the white factions?

MANDELA: We have consistently refrained from being involved in discussing labels. The United States of America and the Federal Republic of Germany, they are all described as federal governments, but you'll find that the so-called United States of America is more federal than the Federal Republic of Germany. It is dangerous to discuss labels. But the point is that in our blueprint on regions we expressly say we want a strong central government, a strong regional government and a strong local government. We have gone further to spell out what we say. We have conceded that the regions will have the power to make laws within their region, to levy taxation, to control education, housing, town planning, the environment, electricity, the running of water, and communications, roads, transport. We think that those powers will contribute to the creation of a strong regional government.

MENON: Sir, you called for the Security Council to consider what role it might play during the transitional period to help South Africa during this transitional period. What exactly do you envisage? Do you envisage a peacekeeping force in South Africa?

MANDELA: Not a peacekeeping force. We think that the creation of a South African peacekeeping force from all military formations will be quite sufficient. The United Nations is burdened with explosive situations more serious than in our own case, and it will be sufficient if we have an increase in the United Nations mission.

LITTLEJOHNS: The observers who --

MANDELA: Observers. Observers. They have done remarkable work. In spite of this recent recurrence of violence, violence in South Africa is gradually calming down. And one of the factors is the activities of the United Nations Mission, Observer Mission. They are doing remarkable work and putting pressure on all of us to account for our actions.

MENON: Do you see this process being derailed in any way? Is there anything that could happen that could conceivably derail the whole process?

MANDELA: I am not worried about black surrogate organizations. They are a threat in so far as the De Klerk Government wants them to be a threat. He gives one of these homelands four and a half billion a year. And they are using those resources for purposes other than the purpose for which they have been voted. If De Klerk said to these black surrogates "From now on you pay your own bills", that is the last you would hear about them. What is dangerous is the right wing, because they are powerful in their own name and right. They have got a substantial following in the civil service, in the army, in the police force. They man telecommunications. This is where the threat to the negotiation process comes from. We, however, are having discussions, and if you have the opportunity to read the statement they have issued this morning, there is hope that we will be able to resolve the problem that is being created by those who have concerns about the democratic changes which are foreshadowed.

LITTLEJOHNS: This is **World Chronicle**. Our guest is Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress. Mr. Mandela, coming back to the United Nations role, do you foresee that the UN will supervise or monitor the elections to ensure that they are free and fair?

MANDELA: Well, certainly we would benefit a great deal from the monitoring of the elections by the United Nations. It has got very experienced, capable people who have got the skills and expertise, and who are very much aware of the objectives of the world organization as an important agency for the promotion of peace in the whole world. And I think that an increase in the number of observers, monitors from the United Nations, would go a long way in ensuring that these elections are fair and free.

LEOPOLD: Mr. Mandela, can I return to your previous call to lift sanctions, economic sanctions? You have asked for all economic sanctions to be lifted. You have said that the Security Council should, for the time being, maintain the mandatory arms embargo, including any nuclear technology. You were a bit hesitant on oil, which can be an economic or a military sanction. Could you explain that?

MANDELA: Well, this is a very sensitive matter. We also want oil. Once we have democratized the political system in the country, our economy is going to need vast reserves of oil. And that is why the matter is sensitive and we must approach it cautiously. And we are leaving it in the hands of the Special Committee dealing with it under the United Nations.

LEOPOLD: But the Special Committee is looking for guidance from you on this also.

MANDELA: We are here, we'll be discussing, we'll be exchanging views on the matter. It is a matter which I think can be disposed of by discussions.

LEOPOLD: President De Klerk, when he was at the United Nations, said that he didn't expect many investments immediately, because once companies have left South Africa because of sanctions it's often difficult for them to return, and the violence would have to be curbed. But he also said that the companies would have to have assurances from you and other leaders, but particularly you, that the investment climate would be favourable. Could you comment on that?

MANDELA: Well, in May last year we issued a guide to investment. And we clearly stated that it is our duty to create that environment, and that is why we are giving assurances, guarantees, that no investments will be expropriated, and that dividends and profits, corporations would be free to repatriate them. And we are doing so because unless we create an environment conducive to investment, we can't get investments. But I have been going around these last three years seeing corporations, especially in this

country, and inviting them, already by the end of 1990, to come to South Africa to conduct their feasibility studies so that when we lift sanctions they should be ready to invest. I believe, for example, that Mayor Dinkins is going to make a statement after this interview in which he outlines the plans which they intend taking in order to release no less than $40 billion for investment in South Africa.

MENON: Sir, the question of white flight from South Africa, is that something that is happening, and ....

MANDELA: Precisely. Because one of the question that has been put to me by foreign corporations is that your own businessmen have no confidence in your own economy because of political instability and the lack of favourable investment, environment for investment, and, therefore, they are exporting their capital and investing abroad. But now that we've lifted sanctions -- and hopefully if we can cut down the level of violence, which will start as soon as the commission, the Sub-Council on Law and Order has been set up -- and there is joint control of the security forces, the level of violence will definitely come down. Our difficulty, of course, is the government, which does not want control of the security forces by an organization, a body which represents all the people of South Africa. And there might be various interpretations as to why they are reluctant that the Transitional Executive Council should now be given the task of controlling the security forces. They are resisting that.

MENON: How does the Indian minority in South Africa view this? Are they also taking the capital out or are they investing in the future of South Africa?

MANDELA: Businessmen, generally, behave in the same way. And the Indian community is a minority which has suffered a great deal. And from the point of view of surveys, De Klerk has had more support from the Indian community than I have had. This was the case as far as the coloured community is concerned, which is also a minority which has got its genuine fears, and --

LITTLEJOHNS: Mixed race people, you're referring to.

MANDELA: Mixed race, that's right. But the latest surveys, as far as the coloured community is concerned, show that we're neck and neck. I have just returned ten days ago from the western Cape, where the majority of the so-called coloured community is situated. I have no doubt that after this visit I am going to be far ahead of De Klerk in support from the coloured community. We are arranging a programme for the Indian community. Already, I have addressed a number of meetings. I have not the

slightest doubt that I am going to outstrip the support which De Klerk has. I am going to have more support among the Indian community, because they have been with us for decades, and the Indian community is very committed to the democratic process. But mistakes have been made by the ANC developing that organization as an organization for Africans only, and that other minorities are merely appendages. We are attending to that.

MENON: And the white support that the ANC has, is that also sizable?

MANDELA: The support which we are receiving from whites is growing. But this is one section where we may face formidable difficulties, because the lines of communication between the democratic movement and the white minority are not so good, so strong, as our lines of communication now with the Indian community and the coloured community. But even that aspect we are attending to. We believe from the response that we're meeting on the ground, for example, the response we are getting from the right wing, we believe that it is only because we have not established effective communication between ourselves and the white community. Once we do so, I believe they will understand that the policy that is in the interest of all population groups in our country is that of the African National Congress.

LITTLEJOHNS: Mr. Mandela, as you know, South Africa has not had representation in the United Nations since -- in the General Assembly -- since 1974. Therefore, they have not been paying their assessments to the UN budget. And I believe that the arrears now amount to well over $80 million. In the event that South Africa is able to resume its participation and full membership in the UN, whether under a government controlled by the ANC, or however it may be, do you envisage that this large debt will have to be paid in full, or will you negotiate a reduced amount, perhaps?

MANDELA: Negotiation is an acceptable method of resolving problems. We may do that. But the important thing is that the role of the world organization is an extremely important one. It must continue to play its role if the problems of the people of South Africa and the world are going to be addressed. And, therefore, it is the duty of any country to honour its responsibilities towards the funds of the United Nations. And I would be surprised if there is any resistance to the proposals that let us acknowledge our indebtedness to the United Nations in all ways, including honouring our financial commitments, financial obligation to the world body. And the question of negotiation is one, of course, that cannot be ruled out. But if the United Nations, for example, says, well, we are not prepared to negotiate, we want that amount, we would

have to consider it very seriously. We cannot afford that we should have any strained relations with an organization which has played a critical role in the anti-apartheid struggle in out country.

LEOPOLD: I don't want to play the devil's advocate, but I will. Could you envisage a combination of the right white wing and the conservative blacks acting in opposition to the new TEC, the Transitional Executive Council? Could that under any circumstances make the country ungovernable, and if so, what will happen then?

MANDELA: I am not pessimistic about the role of the white right wing because, in my discussions with them, I found that they themselves believe that peaceful negotiations are in the interest of all the people of South Africa, including the Afrikaners. That is the spirit in which we are discussing together. And I have been tremendously impressed by their sense of responsibility and their attempt to convey to their followers that violence is not in the interest of the Afrikaner community.

LITTLEJOHNS: Mr. Mandela, that's all the time we have. Thank you for joining us on this edition of **World Chronicle**. Our guest has been Nelson Mandela, President of the African National Congress. He was interviewed by Evelyn Leopold of Reuters and Bhaskar Menon of *The Times* of India. I'm Michael Littlejohns. Thank you for joining us. We invite you to be with us for the next edition of **World Chronicle**.

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